

THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

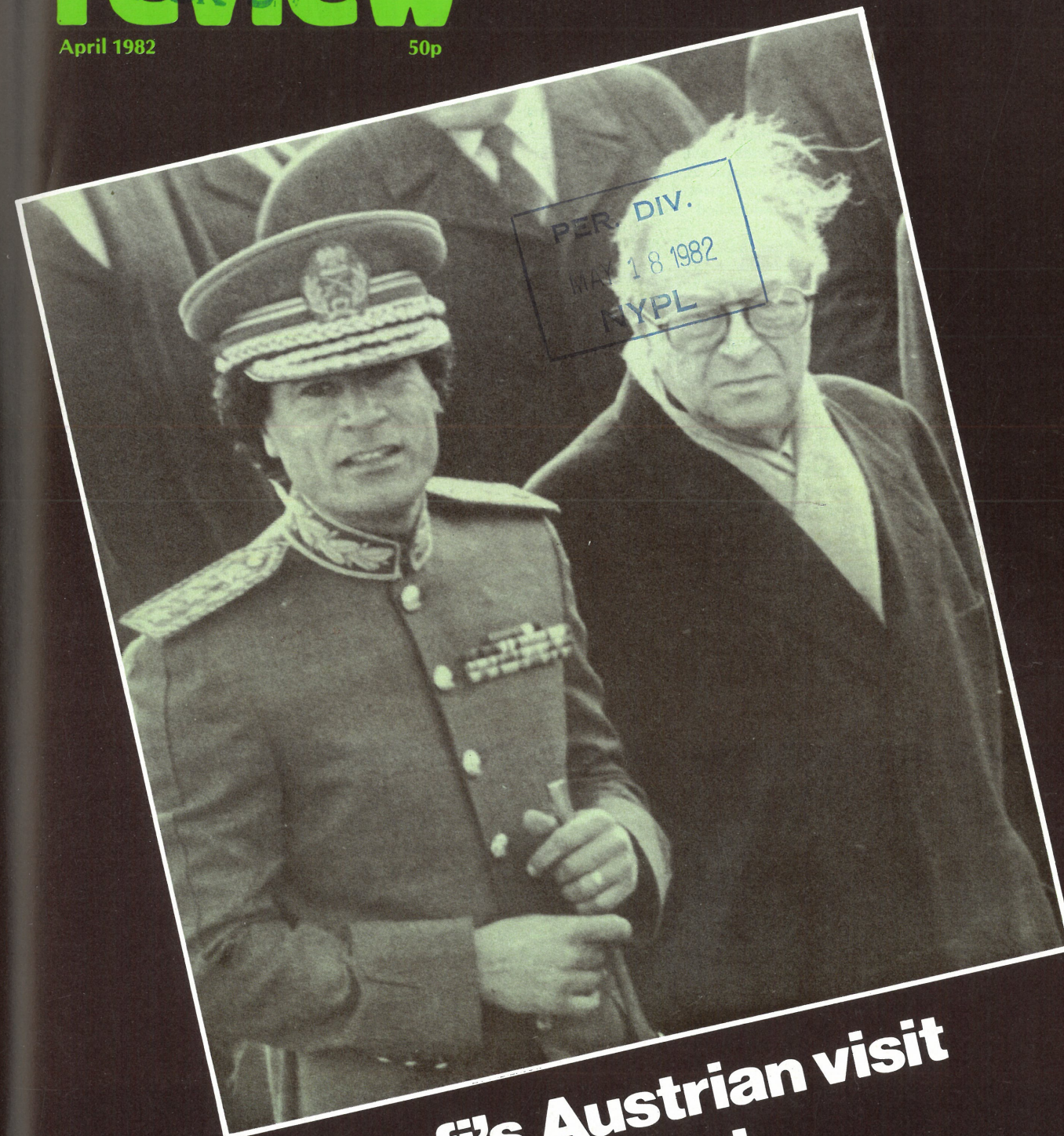
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jamahiriya review

April 1982

50p

Inside:
US schemes
in the
Middle East



**Qadhafi's Austrian visit
stresses mutual
Euro-Libyan interests**

From scepticism to praise

□ From W Newall,
Surrey, England

Dear Sir, When I first read of threatened aggression by the USA against Libya, I have to admit to some scepticism. Within ten days there was the shooting down of Libyan aircraft! I have read *Jamahiriyah Review* with much more interest, and much more seriously, since that unhappy event. In fact, I am very pleased to see regularly a non-Western magazine which I feel sure helps me to have a more balanced and less biased outlook on world and Middle East affairs.

There is one further point worthy of praise and that is the quality of the printed material from the typesetting and checking aspect. So many newspapers and magazines — even papers such as the *Daily Telegraph* — are full of incomplete sentences, spelling and grammatical errors, and other printer's mistakes. Keep up the good work.

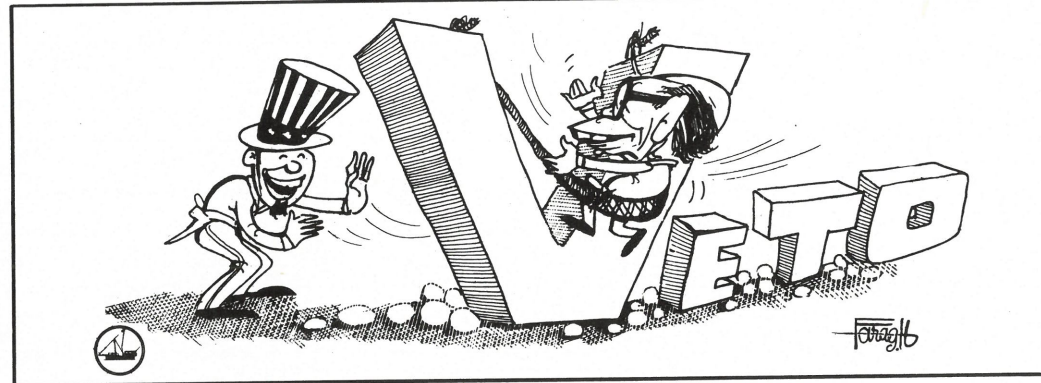
Who are the terrorists?

□ From Hassan Mehdi Zudeh,
London, England

Dear Sir, Although I have always been a great sympathiser with the Third World cause for freedom and liberation, I also think this can only be achieved by the creation of a united front throughout the Muslim world, as Muammer Qadhafi has advocated in his many speeches. But how can the Muslim world achieve such an objective when our Holy places are protected by American AWACS, and our food supplied and our technology needs imported from the West?

It is not surprising that Reagan threatens to withdraw his 1,500 oil employees from the Libyan Jamahiriya and justifies this with allegations that Muammer Qadhafi supports 'terrorist activities' throughout the world. The question is, 'What terrorist activities?', and 'Who is the real world terrorist?' Is it not the American administration which has killed two million Vietnamese, and shed the blood of the people of Iran, El Salvador, South Korea, Turkey, Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Saudi Arabia?

The truth is that there are three men in the world whom imperialist forces hate most, and these are presented to their own peoples as evil forces: Fidel Castro is branded an arms dealer, Muammer Qadhafi as a terrorist supporter and Immanuel Khomeini as an executioner. Perhaps we should



remember that this form of western propaganda began long ago, when the Romans branded the Christians as 'terrorists', 'barbarians' and called them 'uncivilised'.

The time has come for all Muslims to unite, and use our expertise to help one another.

Reason to kill

□ From A K Ahmed,
London, England

Dear Sir, I enjoy reading *Jamahiriyah Review*, which provides accurate and to the point news regarding the Middle East and Palestine. In the western press most of the news is slanted and full of pro-American and Zionist inspired reports, such as the recent news of hit squads from Libya in the USA. Surely there is no need to send a hit squad to the USA; there are already enough people in America who need no prompting or incitement to kill without reason.

Bias in the media

□ From Michael Stone,
Lancashire, England

Dear Editor, I would like to congratulate you on your excellent magazine which presents much information the vast majority of British media does its level best to keep from us.

Even television news coverage is fanatically pro the American government. Compare the amount of coverage given to the quite appalling events in Poland with the minute time given to the brave struggle for freedom and basic human rights of oppressed peoples of Chile, Turkey, El Salvador, South Africa and Palestine, to name but some of the many victims of American imperialism.

People like Reagan, Haig, Beigin and Sadat (who between them have been responsible for untold oppression, poverty, murder and the denial of dignity and human rights to millions of people) are portrayed as heroes,

and even worse as men of peace, while freedom fighters like those in El Salvador, the ANC in South Africa and the PLO are portrayed as terrorists and criminals. Apparently, to the Americans, wishing your people to be free, to have enough to eat and live with dignity, without oppression, is a reasonable request only if the US dislikes the oppressors.

This is why I find your magazine so very welcome.

Reagan's threat to peace

□ From Joe Okereke, Nigeria

Dear Sir, I have just read *Jamahiriyah Review* and the report on American foreign policy, 'From El Salvador to the Libyan Jamahiriya'; both expose the international involvement of the United States in the political, cultural and socio-economic affairs of the Third World nations, and particularly the Libyan Jamahiriya in recent months.

Jamahiriyah Review dealt with those aspects which expose America as an enemy of peace and progress, such as violations of international laws, and the Reagan administration's record on human rights. Your reporting contrasts with the two popular US magazines (*Newsweek* and *Time*), which not only give false information that suits the US, but also make readers see Reagan as a big liar, the most recent example being the 'hit squad' that never was.

The Third World nations exist whether the Reagan administration likes it or not. But instead of devoting his time to the welfare of the Americans (who cannot boast even adequate housing for their people), Reagan would rather resort to nosing about looking for the downfall of other nations. His recent aggressive attacks on the Libyan Jamahiriya is pure testimony of his administration's enviousness of the socialist administration of Muammer Qadhafi. I see Reagan's attacks as a serious threat to peace and the unity of the Libyan Jamahiriya; he should desist from such attacks because

other world powers will not merely fold their hands and watch.

Aid to oppressed peoples

□ From a reader in South Africa;
the name and address are not given to protect the writer.

Dear Brother, I was going through your magazine *Jamahiriyah Review*, and was deeply impressed by the progress Libya is making under the leadership of its most able leader Muammer Qadhafi.

We the oppressed people of South Africa (Azania) are really grateful to the Libyan people for the aid they are rendering to the freedom movements of our country, and also of our oppressed brothers in other parts of the world (especially the Palestinians).

Sirte attack condemned

□ From Teddy Coeyman, New Jersey, USA.

Progressive and peace-loving people strongly condemn the attack against Libya by the United States in the Gulf of Sirte, just as all people of justice condemn the brutal Zionist rape of Palestine and demand a homeland for the Palestinian people. It is very sad that my country is trying to police and terrorise poor and oppressed peoples in the world; the Gulf of Sirte incident is but one of the many crimes of imperialism.

Letters welcome from our readers

We are pleased to receive letters from our readers. If you would like to express your views on any subject through the columns of our magazine, please write to: The Letters Editor, *Jamahiriyah Review*, 13A Hillgate Street, London W8 7SP, England. We reserve the right to shorten long letters.

jamahiriya review

No 23 April 1982

□ **COVER STORY:** American efforts to isolate the Libyan Jamahiriya have been set back by the official visit to Austria by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi. During his four day stay in the Austrian capital, Qadhafi stressed the common interests which link the Jamahiriya and Western Europe, and the threat to the Europeans' economy now posed by the Reagan administration's efforts to destabilise Libya. A report and assessment of Qadhafi's visit to Austria appears on pages 8 and 9. An editorial comment appears on page 4.

□ **THE MAGHREB:** Another aspect of Muammer Qadhafi's recent activity on the international scene has been his visit to Tunisia for talks with President Bourguiba. Following his earlier visit to Algiers, the talks in Tunis opened the way for closer co-operation between Tunisia and the Jamahiriya, and a further challenge for American intrigues in the region, according to a report on page 10.

□ **THE AMERICAN THREAT:** The United States continues to pose the most serious threat to the Arab nation's independence. This issue gives extended coverage to an examination of American policy in the region: a report on Muammer Qadhafi's recent strong attack on Saudi policy appears on pages 15 and 16; Louis Eaks reports on US activities in Morocco and Washington's efforts to undermine Libya's relations with Tunisia on pages 11 and 12; Phil Kelly looks at the overall American strategy in the Arab homeland on pages 13 and 14.

□ **ANGLO-LIBYAN TRADE LINKS:** In the first of a series of articles profiling the Jamahiriya's trading partners in Britain, Dr Alan George talks to Coles Cranes Limited about their sales to Libya.

□ **LIBYA'S ADMINISTRATION:** Details of the recent meeting of the General People's Congress, the Jamahiriya's supreme legislature, and the newly chosen administration appears on page 6 in Panorama News Review.

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A monthly summary of news and events from the Libyan Jamahiriya, the Arab homeland and the Third World

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Reagan raves but Europe is not amused

THE AMERICAN decision to place an embargo on Libyan oil imports and the sale of US technology to the Jamahiriya would be little short of a farce if it were not for the more serious intentions of Washington's scheme to destabilise the Libyan economy and stage a coup in Tripoli. The announcement of America's latest actions against the Jamahiriya coincided with the Libyan leader's visit to Austria, providing a timely contrast between Washington's efforts to destabilise Libya, while the message of Qadhafi's Austrian visit was one of partnership and conciliation in international affairs.

Indeed, while Washington's actions are a clear move to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, the Reagan administration's policy of active interference is further contrasted with Qadhafi's proposal in Vienna that differences between the United States and the Libyan Jamahiriya should be resolved through dialogue and discussion, not confrontation and subversion. While Muammar Qadhafi has made practical and responsible suggestions, President Reagan appears to rest his foreign affairs policy purely on the crude assertion of military power.

Qadhafi's call in Vienna for a dialogue with President Reagan was not the first in which the Libyan leader has proposed such a course for dealing with the very real differences between the United States and the Libyan Jamahiriya should be resolved through dialogue and discussion, not confrontation and subversion. While Muammar Qadhafi has made practical and responsible suggestions, President Reagan appears to rest his foreign affairs policy purely on the crude assertion of military power.

Qadhafi's call in Vienna for a dialogue with President Reagan was not the first in which the Libyan leader has proposed such a course for dealing with the very real differences between the two countries. In fact, this was Qadhafi's immediate proposal to the new administration in Washington following Reagan's election.

The real dilemma is that the United States lacks confidence that its international standing can be secured by any means other than military and economic pressure on countries whose only 'crime' is their wish to pursue an independent and positively non-aligned course. It is no crime for Libya to focus attention on America's key role in supporting the Zionists in Palestine, and to draw attention to the dangers which Zionist strategy pose to the security of the Arab nation. Washington's policy in the Middle East is questioned by many, including influential political figures and newspapers in the West.

American policy in the Arab homeland will remain on a collision course with Arab nationalism and progressive Arab forces so long as it operates in the vacuum which Washington has created. The American concept of Arab consensus is distorted. It is based purely on speaking to those ready to concede to Washington's views; this has meant that America's view of Arab rights and aspirations is based purely on what it hears from surrogate regimes and the Zionists.

Such an approach serves the interests of neither the United States nor of the Arab nation; it leads to policies being formulated on the basis of a totally incomplete assessment of the facts. How can policies based on such a process offer stability in the region when they are certain to be opposed by the majority of the Arab nation?

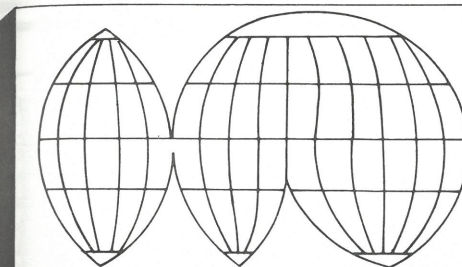
The Arab individual's burning desire to live freely, with a democratic right to contribute to the decision making process of his country, without the restraints imposed by feudal regimes, is not a threat to the American people. The Arab nation asks nothing more than for the United States to formulate its Middle East policy in the foundations of respect for the Arab nation.

The Libyan Jamahiriya's concern to defend Arab rights is legitimate and honourable. It is not a declaration of aggression against the United States or the West. Washington perceives it as such simply because US leaders believe they have a divine right to determine the policies of the Arab nation. This perception is the real danger to international peace.

There are concepts of international relations which transcend ideological divides. The days of gun-boat diplomacy have long since gone, although Washington does not appear to have noticed. Concern at American foreign policy was voiced recently by the former British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, when he lectured in the US on 2nd March. Referring to the need 'to understand better the changing basis of power in international affairs and the new conditions which govern its effectiveness', Mr Heath rightly declared that 'power usually derives as much from the quality of our relationships with others, the depth of co-operation with them, as from the possession of economic or military strength'.

Washington's readiness to resort to economic and military strength in its foreign policy alarms many European leaders. In Vienna, Muammar Qadhafi rightly drew attention to the dangers to Europe posed by Washington's stand towards the Jamahiriya and the Arab nation as a whole. In its bid to impress other Third World nations that independence is not something that the US readily tolerates, Libya has been chosen as a scapegoat. However, in seeking to undermine the Jamahiriya's economy, Washington now attempts to disrupt Libya's development programme, and consequently trade relations with European states, and in turn their own economies are threatened and the jobs of tens of thousands of European workers whose livelihood is enhanced through trade with Libya.

Reagan poses as much of a challenge to Europe as it does to Libya and the Arab nation. The real challenge which Europe must face responsibly is to its own independence to determine its international relations freely, and to stand on the side of justice for the struggling peoples of the Third World. If Europe could muster the will and the determination to become truly non-aligned in the East-West confrontation, it would greatly serve the interests of the Third World's search for a course between the two super-powers.



Oil embargo: Washington forced to act alone in bid to destabilise Libya

THE REAGAN administration has taken a further step in its efforts to destabilise the Libyan Jamahiriya with an announcement in Washington on 10th March that the United States is to ban all imports of Libyan oil and to embargo the sale of technology to the Jamahiriya. However, after several months of lobbying and pressure on European governments to support the American scheme against Libya, Washington has had to proceed alone. European governments remain unconvinced of Washington's high-pitched charges against the Jamahiriya, which accuse the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi of financing international terrorism. The fact that the US has been forced to act alone is very humiliating to the Reagan administration.

The ban on oil imports and technology sales is seen as the latest phase in Washington's efforts to destabilise and isolate the Libyan Jamahiriya. Last November the US ordered all American citizens working in the Jamahiriya to leave Libya; many still remain, angered by Reagan's aggressive stance towards Qadhafi.

The current oil surplus on world markets has seriously weakened the American position. Prior to the boycott announcement, Libyan exports to the US were reported to be a mere 150,000 barrels a day. The loss of the American market is not, therefore, expected to have any serious consequences on the Libyan economy, which Washington had hoped would result in creating internal opposition to the current Libyan administration.

The credibility of US charges against Libya and Qadhafi, already the cause of much derision following the fabricated reports of the Libyan 'hit squad' planning to assassinate President Reagan, has sunk even further with Washington's latest claim, used to justify the oil boycott, that Libya was behind a previously unreported scheme to bomb an American club in Khar-toum last November. Observers



point out that the charge appears to be the latest fabrication of the CIA. It is hardly likely, had the incident occurred, that Washington would have remained silent about such a plot for four months during which time the US has frantically issued daily allegations against Libya and Muammar Qadhafi in a desperate bid to justify its scheme to destabilise the Jamahiriya.

Afro-Libyan talks as prelude to OAU summit

A STEADY stream of officials of African countries has been visiting Libya in recent weeks. Their meetings with Libyan officials have been part of the diplomatic contacts which the Libyan Jamahiriya is undertaking in the run-up to the OAU summit meeting in Tripoli in June.

In the first week of February, Guinean Army Minister Lansane Diane was in Tripoli. An official statement said that he held talks intended to 'promote the establishment of friendship between the peoples of Libya and Guinea'. The Minister expressed his concern at the recent withdrawal of Libyan troops from Chad, and the consequent return of civil war to that country. The Government of Chad, he said, had been the victim of an international conspiracy engineered by imperialism and reaction, to dispense with the Libyan forces which had played a stabilising role in the country.

On 22nd February, the Libyan news agency JANA revealed that the Reagan administration had put pressure on some African countries not to attend the OAU summit, threatening economic sanctions against them. Nevertheless, contacts have continued. The Lesotho Finance Minister held talks in Tripoli in mid-February. Messages from Tan-

zanian Premier Julius Nyerere, OAU Chairman and Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi, the Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure in February stressed the need for continued relations between their countries and Libya, and Niger announced on 1st March that it was resuming diplomatic links with the Jamahiriya, which it severed over Libya's policy of assistance to Chad.

On 7th March, the Liberian Ministers of Finance and Mining held talks with Abdul Ati Al Obeidi, the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Liaison for Foreign Affairs, on aspects of bilateral co-operation.

Tripoli and Accra forge new links

A MEMBER of Ghana's ruling Provisional National Defence Council, Chris Bukari Atim, who is also Ghana's Secretary for Energy and Youth and Sports, headed an official Ghanaian delegation to the Jamahiriya in mid-February. Mr Atim delivered a message from PNDC Chairman Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings to Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi, who met the delegation on 18th February. The message said that the 31st December Revolution in Ghana, and the 1st September Revolution in Libya, were ready together to confront imperialism and racism.

Mr Atim and his team, which included members of the Ghanaian Secretaries of Foreign Affairs and Fuel and Power, met with Libyan Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdul Ati Al Obeidi and Oil Secretary Abul Salem Zagaar. A treaty covering co-operation in culture, information, health and economic affairs was signed after the talks.

On 28th February, it was reported that Libya had sent two tankers of crude oil to Ghana, totalling about 500,000 barrels, in order to relieve shortages in Ghana caused by Nigeria's decision to cut off oil due to payment arrears, a move which many observers felt was prompted largely by hostility among Nigeria's pro-western rulers to the revolutionary government of Jerry Rawlings. The Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Accra, Muawia Mabruk, told a press conference that a deal was

► being negotiated under which Libya would provide Ghana's oil needs for the next 15 years. The oil would be cut-price, as Libya would bear transport costs.

The founding of a Libyan-Ghanaian Development Bank was also under consideration, and Libya would send food, agricultural and medical aid to Ghana, the Libyan envoy said. Libya's sole aim in Ghana was 'the liberation of Ghanaians from imperialism and colonialism,' Mr Mabruk stressed.

News agency for Africa

THE FIRST Pan-African News Agency will start operations towards the end of the year, *The Times* announced on 11th February. In January a United Nations communications commission approved £815,000 for the establishment and development of the agency. The new media project, based in the Senegambian capital Dakar, and with distribution centres in Tripoli, Khartoum, Lusaka, Kinshasa and Lagos, is designed to counter the pro-Western bias of the largely US controlled international news agencies.

Qadhafi and Assad 'to meet soon'

LIBYAN LEADER Muammer Qadhafi and Syrian President Hafez al Assad will hold a meeting in the near future, the Syrian news agency SANA announced on 16th February. The agency said that the meeting was agreed



Syria's President Assad

during a telephone conversation between the two leaders the day before. In the same telephone call, SANA added, President Assad spoke with President Ali Nasser Muhammad of Democratic Yemen, who on 15th February stopped over in Tripoli for talks with the Libyan leader while en route to Cuba.

The Libyan Jamahiriya, Syria and Democratic Yemen are key members of the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, which also includes Algeria and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The front was set up to counter the Camp David 'peace' agreement between Israel and the Sadat regime, and to maintain a credible Arab military and political counterweight to

Zionist expansionism. A major theme of the telephone conversations between the three leaders was reportedly a co-ordinated response to Israel's annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

Libyan Congress strengthens democracy

THE GENERAL People's Congress, the Libyan legislature, met in special session on 3rd March to approve key changes in the selection procedure for Libyan Secretaries — the equivalent of ministers in traditional systems of government. There were also a number of important changes in the Jamahiriya's General Popular Committee, which performs similar functions to a cabinet in other governmental systems.

The new selection procedure will consolidate the direct democracy practiced in Libya since it will accord a greater role to the Basic People's Congresses, the local grassroots decision-making forums open to all citizens. In future, each Basic People's Congress will nominate experts in the various sectors of the economy to serve on the people's committees that administer the Libyan Secretariats. Under the Jamahiri system, Secretariats carry out the same functions as ministries in traditional countries. The people's committees will then choose the Jamahiriya's Secretaries from their numbers. Previously, Secretaries were chosen by the General People's Congress.

During January's meeting of the General People's Congress, concern was expressed at the pace of agricultural development in the Jamahiriya, and the changes instituted by the Basic People's Congresses in March reflected these anxieties. Abu Zayd Umar Durdah, formerly Economy Secretary, was appointed as Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation Secretary. Former Agriculture Secretary Bashir Jawda, Abdesalam Zaager (formerly Oil Secretary), Muhammad Mahmud Hijazi (Municipalities) and Muftah Ku'aybah (Sport) became members of the People's Committee for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, each with special responsibility for a particular sector of the Jamahiriya's agricultural development programme.

New Secretaries were appointed at the Secretariats of Utilities (sometimes termed Municipalities), Oil, Planning and Sport. The Light Industry and Economy Secretariats were merged into a single Secretariat, with Musa Abu Freiwa, former Planning Secretary, as the Secretary of its People's Committee.

Two of the Jamahiriya's Secretariats — Liaison for Internal Affairs and Liaison for Foreign Affairs — have been wound up, and their Secretaries dropped from the General People's Committee. The Liaison for Internal Affairs Secretariat was established in January 1981 with responsibility for co-ordinating the affairs of the people's congresses and committees within the Jamahiriya. The Foreign Affairs Liaison Secretariat, also set up at the January 1981 meeting of the General People's Congress, was charged with co-ordinating the activities of all the people's committees formed outside Libya, and with maintaining contacts with official circles in foreign countries. All the Jamahiriya's foreign affairs will henceforth be administered by the Foreign Liaison Bureau, whose Secretary is Abdel Ati al Obeidi.

The changes in the Jamahiriya's administration mean that the number of Secretariats has been reduced from 22 to 19, in line with the calls at January's meeting of the General People's Congress for a streamlining of the civil service aimed at ending bureaucratic delays.

Egyptians protest against Zionist embassy

EGYPT'S OPPOSITION Socialist Labour Party (SLP) hoisted the Palestinian flag on its Cairo headquarters on 26th February in a protest marking the second anniversary of the opening of the



The death toll rises as American backed Zionists pursue their aggressions against Lebanon. See 'Us mercenaries in Lebanon' item below.

Israeli embassy in the Egyptian capital.

An SLP statement said: 'The Palestinian flag will remain fluttering high on the party's premises until it is moved to the Palestinian Embassy in Cairo.'

One year ago the party withdrew its support for the Camp David treaty between Egypt, Israel and the United States because of the Zionists' continuing intransigence over the rights of the Palestinian people.

Patrol boats from France

FRANCE WILL shortly deliver four naval patrol boats to the Libyan Jamahiriya, the United Arab Emirates news agency WAM disclosed on 11th February, quoting a reliable source at the French Defence Ministry. The four vessels are the first of a batch of ten that Paris has agreed to supply to Libya.

The delivery reflects the closer ties that have developed between Libya and France since the victory of President Mitterand's Socialist Party in May's general elections, and since the resolution of the two countries' disagreements over the presence of Libyan troops in the former French colony of Chad.

US mercenaries in Lebanon

ABOUT THIRTY to forty westerners, most of them Americans, are serving with the militia of 'major' Sa'ad Haddad, the Israeli-backed rightist who controls a border enclave in south Lebanon, *Newsweek* magazine revealed on 8th March. Like Haddad's own men, the mercenaries are supplied with uniforms, weapons and pay by the Zionist state. *Newsweek* quotes officials at the US embassy

in Tel Aviv as saying that the mercenaries are not breaking any American laws.

Fifth anniversary of Jamahiriya marked

LIBYANS HAVE been marking the fifth anniversary of the inauguration of Libya's system of direct democracy, on 2nd March 1977. The highlight of the celebrations was Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi's speech, in which he condemned the Saudi Arabian monarchy for creating the world oil glut by overproduction (see page 15). Thousands of citizens converged on Tripoli's international conference centre to hear Qadhafi's address, which was broadcast live throughout the Jamahiriya by Libyan radio and television.

The anniversary of the declaration of the Jamahiriya was also marked on 1st March by festivities in the Libyan capital. While large crowds marched through the streets chanting slogans in support of the Jamahiriya and its revolutionary leadership, ships anchored in the port sounded their sirens in commemoration of the anniversary.

In an editorial covering the Jamahiriya's anniversary, *Al Zahf al Akhdar*, the weekly newspaper of Libya's revolutionary committees, declared on 1st March: 'Unlike changes in previous governments elsewhere, the Jamahiriya has meant a radical change in all facets of life, in ways that serve the interests of the broad mass of the people instead of the small, minority, ruling class. Governments and rulers have disappeared together with their accompanying exploitation and oppression.'

CIA acts against Iran

THE REAGAN administration is providing secret assistance to groups working against the Iranian Revolution, the *New York Times* revealed on 7th March. Quoting 'western intelligence sources', the paper said that the CIA hopes to forge an alliance between the various Iranian exile and paramilitary groups. Amongst the groups receiving help from the US are two paramilitary organisations based in south east Turkey, in the Iranian border region. Reviewing the *New York Times* story, the London *Guardian* on 8th March said: 'They are getting several million dollars a year and a radio station which is beaming anti-Government propaganda to Iran.'

Progressive forum leaves door open for China

LIBYAN REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammer Qadhafi has called on 'all peoples subject to aggression by imperialism' to unite and support each other. Addressing the preparatory committee of the International Forum for Resisting Imperialism, Zionism, Racism and Reaction, Qadhafi cited a long list of liberation movements deserving of support. They included freedom fighters in El Salvador, Palestine, Guatemala, Chile, Namibia, South Africa and the Western Sahara.

The new body, which will co-ordinate assistance to liberation movements, is being formed in accordance with a resolution of last August's International Conference of Solidarity with the Libyan People, convened after

US naval forces violated the Jamahiriya's territorial waters and shot down two Libyan jets over the Gulf of Sirte.

Muammer Qadhafi stressed that members of the new organisation should send direct material and military aid to liberation movements. 'The peoples and organisations comprising this forum must prepare to participate directly in repulsing possible aggression against Libya, Nicaragua, Cuba, Angola, Syria and Lebanon,' he declared. Any aggression against one member of the forum should be considered as an attack on them all.

The Libyan leader expressed his regret that the People's Republic of China was not represented amongst the more than 80 countries and over 240 organisations attending the preparatory meetings of the new forum. China, he said, was well qualified for membership of the forum by its status as a major Third World country that was able to play a key deterrent role in safeguarding peoples' independence. In the days of Mao Tse Tung and Chou En Lai, China was on the point of assuming such a role, said Muammer Qadhafi. 'It would be wise and useful to leave the door open for China to join this forum when it decides to break its ties once and for all with the imperialist forces that are opposed to the peoples of this forum,' he declared, in a reference to the close ties Peking has established with Washington in recent years.

After four days of meetings at Tripoli's Beach Hotel, the forum's preparatory committee announced that the first full session of the new progressive body will be held in the Libyan capital from 15th-18th May. The session's opening has been timed to coincide with the anniversary of the end of the British mandate over Palestine in 1948.

The Jamahiriya's Secretaries

Foreign Liaison
Justice

Atomic Energy
Housing
Economy and Light Industry
Electricity
Sports
Planning
Agrarian Reform and
Land Reclamation
Heavy Industry
Civil Service
Social Security
Education
Oil
Utilities
Communications and Shipping
Health
Treasury

Abdel Ati al Obeidi
Muhammad Abu al Qasim az
Zuwayy

Abdel Majid al Qu'ud
Muhammad al Manqush
Musa Abu Freiwa
Jum'ah al Arbush
Ibrahim Ibrahim Khuwaydir
Fawzi al Shakshuki

Abu Zayd Umar Durdah
Omar al Muntassir
Muhammad Abdullah al Mabruk
Ibrahim al Faqi Hassan
Abd al Hafiz az Zulaaytini
Kamal Hassan al Maqhur
Muhammad Ubayd ash-Shukri
al-Bukhari Salim Hudah
Murad Ali Lanqi
Muhammad Qasim Sharlalah

Qadhafi's Austrian visit underlines Washington's isolation and the American threat to Europe's economy

WEST EUROPEANS may soon have to revise their image of the Libyan Jamahiriya and the country's revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi. In a bid to counter the continuing American propaganda campaign against his country, Muammar Qadhafi surprised observers by stepping into the European arena with an official visit to Austria during March. And at the end of his four day visit, the Libyan leader expressed his hope that other visits to West European capitals would be arranged in order that Europeans should have the opportunity to hear his views and judge for themselves the validity of Washington's charges against the Jamahiriya.

The Austrian visit was timely; it coincided with Washington's announcement of an embargo on Libyan oil imports and the sale of technology to the Jamahiriya. Yet America's latest move against Libya failed to gain the support of the United States' European allies. The visit itself provided an important psychological victory for the Jamahiriya, which Washington has sought to isolate internationally; a previously planned visit by Qadhafi to Italy was postponed after American pressure on the Rome government to cancel their invitation to the Libyan leader.

In fact, there is not a single West European government which has not been under pressure from Washington in recent months to take measures against Libya. The Europeans, however, despite what is published in the press, remain unconvinced of the Reagan administration's claims against the Jamahiriya and Qadhafi.

The Libyan leader arrived in Vienna on 10th March, accompanied by a number of key officials from the Jamahiriya, including Secretary for Foreign Liaison Abdel Ati al Ubeidi and Heavy Industry Secretary Omar al Muntassir. The Reagan adminis-

MUAMMAR QADHAFI has emphasised Libya's desire for closer relations with Western Europe with a surprise visit to Austria during March. Louis Eaks examines the significance of the visit, and reports on the Libyan leader's press conference in Vienna.

tration chose to underline its disapproval of Austria's invitation to the Libyan leader by announcing its oil and technology embargo of the Jamahiriya the same day as the Libyan delegation's arrival in Vienna.

During the four-day visit, Muammar Qadhafi held a series of talks with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, with the Speaker of the Austrian Parliament, and with the Mayor of Vienna. He also met with representatives of progressive European political parties and movements, including the West German Greenpeace ecology movement. Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi held talks with Austrian Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr, and a highlight of Heavy Industry Secretary Omar Muntassir's programme was a tour of a steelworks in the city of Linz. Austria is already heavily involved in the Jamahiriya's industrialisation programme, the steelmaking firm Voest-Alpine having won major contracts relating to Libya's first steelworks, currently being built at the coastal town of Misrata.

The friendly tone of the Libyan leader's visit to Austria was highlighted at a press conference in Vienna on 12th March, when

Qadhafi stressed the Jamahiriya's wish for closer relations with Austria and Europe, and warned Europeans of the dangers posed by the Reagan administration's confrontation politics with the Soviet Union.

'My visit to Austria will achieve positive results and co-operation with western Europe,' the Libyan leader declared. He stressed that Chancellor Kreisky was ideally suited to act as an intermediary between the Jamahiriya and Europe. 'He has known me personally for seven years, and his attitude towards us is quite different from that of others,' he said. 'All those who know us at first hand know the truth.' The Austrian Chancellor was a prominent international statesman, and 'what he says about us in western Europe will carry even greater weight than what we ourselves say'.

Qadhafi dismissed Zionist and American allegations that Libya's oil revenues were used to fund 'international terrorism'. The Jamahiriya's revenues were in fact spent on 'development projects, such as housing, hospitals, schools and industry,' he stressed. 'They are also disbursed as aid to poverty-stricken nations in the Third World, and on joint economic projects with industrial nations, such as Austria, Italy, France and West Germany'.

The Libyan leader said that the US boycott of Libyan oil would not harm the Jamahiriya, but might have serious repercussions on the recipients of Libyan aid and on Libya's West European trading partners. The boycott, he declared, 'will have no ill-effect on the Libyan people. On the contrary, it will harm the people of the developing nations that receive aid from Libya. It will damage joint projects between Libya and the industrial coun-

tries which will lose billions of dollars if the sale of Libyan oil is stopped.'

The US action betrayed 'the inadequate political grasp of the US President, and his lack of understanding of Libya'. Qadhafi warned that Reagan's policies were a serious danger to world peace, threatening Europe no less than the Jamahiriya. 'We feel very close to the West European peoples who are facing similar threats to us,' he said.

Nuclear threat

Regan's nuclear policies, and Washington's apparent belief that it could fight and win a limited nuclear war in Europe, were particularly alarming, Muammar Qadhafi continued. Limited nuclear war meant 'the destruction of Europe, starting with West and East Germany,' he declared. 'This is exactly what the US President is planning to do by deploying medium range missiles in Europe.' Noting that the aim of such a war would be to protect the US mainland from direct attack, Qadhafi said: 'We, the Arabs and Europeans, are not prepared to die instead of the American people.'

Despite the Reagan administration's dangerous policies, however, the Jamahiriya was still prepared to engage in a constructive dialogue with Washington, said Muammar Qadhafi. US policies reflected above all the ignorance of inexperienced officials, he added. Reagan was still new in his post, and 'it is possible that his policy will improve in the future'.

Qadhafi continued: 'I sincerely hope that his policy in 1983 will be better than in 1982, because if it is not, the ensuing dangers will not affect only Libya, but also the rest of the world — and especially western Europe.'

US policies were also an important theme of Muammar Qadhafi's speech at a banquet given in his honour by Chancellor Kreisky on 11th March. Referring to Washington's 'approving talk' about a limited nuclear war in Europe, Muammar Qadhafi declared: 'I personally support the new peace movement in Europe which opposes the deployment of medium range nuclear missiles. It seems that the US hell is gradually being transferred to Europe in the form of military bases, nuclear missiles and warships.'

Every effort should be exerted to avert



Forging Euro-Libyan ties: Muammar Qadhafi with the Austrian Chancellor Dr Kreisky.

the threat of a nuclear war, said Colonel Qadhafi. He added: 'I regret that the prevailing language of a superpower like the US is that of blockade, threats, provocations and aggression. This policy is very dangerous, and we must co-operate to counter it. We might have our differences on international issues, but that does not prevent us from co-operating so as to achieve mutual benefits.'

Muammar Qadhafi spoke warmly of his visit to Austria, referring to 'the generosity and hospitality with which I have been met in your beautiful and friendly country'. It was no accident, he continued, that Austria had been the first West European country he had visited in his capacity as Leader of the Al Fateh Revolution. 'I believe Austria can be a link of understanding with Western Europe,' he declared, 'especially if we take into account my confidence in my friend the Chancellor'. Austria, continued Muammar Qadhafi, 'is respected for its neutrality', and Chancellor Kreisky was 'a respected figure in international circles, and someone whom I have found capable of understanding and defending truth'.

Qadhafi said that he was certain that his visit would boost the already close ties between Tripoli and Vienna, and described the two countries' relations as 'an example for others to follow'. He added that he attached the greatest importance to Chancellor Kreisky's 'efforts to share with me in consolidating Arab-European relations, and consequently world peace'.

In reply, Dr Kreisky stressed his wish for a strengthening of Austrian-Libyan political and economic relations. 'It is not widely known that economic relations between our two countries are strong, and we take the opportunity of this visit to strengthen them further,' he declared. Chancellor Kreisky added: 'I wish to add here that our ties will not be restricted to the economic sector in the future. We wish to strengthen our co-operation in political spheres as well.'

Dr Kreisky continued: 'My friendship with Colonel Qadhafi has been a boon in strengthening relations between our two countries,' and he concluded: 'This meeting is a great pleasure to me, and I hope that our relations will prosper in the future.'

A step towards mutual understanding

ONE OF the key aspects of Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi's visit to Austria was the opportunity it gave the Libyan delegation to rectify the distorted image of the Jamahiriya portrayed by the western media. On his return from Austria, the Libyan leader told the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA: 'My visit to Austria was highly positive and provided an opportunity to explain our points of view on various world issues. I was able to persuade the

Austrian people and Government officials of the sincerity of our position and the justice of our cause.'

Muammar Qadhafi continued: 'The understanding shown by Chancellor Kreisky, his vitality and courage, had an effective role in making the visit a success and in making official Western public opinion understand our position and policy.'

'The visit also proved that direct

dialogue and meetings are the best method of solving international problems and establishing understanding, which enhances world peace,' the Libyan leader continued. 'We have hopes that meetings similar to the one held in Austria will also be held with all Western countries,' he added. 'This is the best method for mutual understanding and for avoiding misunderstandings and hostile propaganda,' Qadhafi declared.

Kreisky paves the way for Libya-Malta rapprochement

FOLLOWING A SURPRISE STOPOVER IN Valetta by Muammar Qadhafi, after his visit to Austria, relations between Malta and the Jamahiriya have been returned to a normal footing after a period of strain over disputed maritime boundaries.

During the Libyan leader's visit to Malta on 13th March, he held talks with Premier Dom Mintoff, cabinet ministers and the country's President.

On his return to Tripoli, Qadhafi told the Jamahiriya News Agency, JANA, that Libya and Malta had agreed to refer the dispute over oil exploration rights on the continental shelf to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. A similar dispute, between Tunisia and Libya, was resolved recently when the International Court ruled in favour of the Jamahiriya.

Qadhafi said that his visit to Malta

had been the direct result of mediation by Austrian Chancellor Kreisky, and that the Valetta talks had opened a new era in Libyan-Maltese relations. 'Our stopover in Valetta was met with total understanding and a spirit of brotherhood by Mr Dom Mintoff and his government,' declared the Libyan leader. 'The meeting has opened the door for further understanding in solving many regional and international problems.'

A new chapter opens with the Jamahiriya

MUAMMER QADHAFI paid a brief visit to Tunisia at the end of January when he returned by road from Algeria. His motorcade received an enthusiastic welcome from Tunisians who lined his route. Such scenes were repeated during the latest visit. 'This visit opens a new chapter in the two countries' relations, and closes an unsatisfactory one,' Colonel Qadhafi said during an interview conducted by Tunisian television. The new relations would have a strong base in economic co-operation, 'the foundation stone of Arab unity,' the Libyan leader said.

During his visit, Colonel Qadhafi had talks with Tunisian President Habib Bourgiba, and with government ministers led by Premier Mohammed Mzali, who is widely credited with being the prime mover on the Tunisian side of the reconciliation between the two countries. The Libyan leader also met with many Tunisians from all walks of life, and gave speeches to gatherings of intellectuals and to young activists of the ruling Destourian Socialist Party.

In his speech to party activists, Colonel Qadhafi stressed that his visit should be the start of direct meetings between the peoples of the two countries. This would help to 'melt the ice of regionalist differences' in the Arab homeland, which had been caused by imperialism, and had in turn enabled the imperialists to dominate the Arab world.

Tenth crusade

To maintain their domination of the Arabs, the Americans were engaged on a 10th Crusade, the Libyan leader declared. The challenge posed by the US 6th Fleet was 'a crusade in a new guise,' he told the assembled young people. Moves towards unity, such as the steps being undertaken by Tunisia and the Jamahiriya were strongly opposed by the imperialists, he said, because they showed the inevitability of Arab unity. The Libyan Jamahiriya would support any move which would bring about Arab unity and the liberation and progress of the Arab world, he insisted.

In his television interview, Muammer Qadhafi attacked the policies of the previous Tunisian Premier, Hadi Nour, on whom he laid the blame for the strained relations between the two countries in the immediate past. As an example, the Libyan leader cited the dispute over oil and gas drilling rights in the Mediterranean, which has now been settled. 'Nour's allegations that Libya was exploring for natural gas in the Gulf of Gabes were unfounded. We cannot encroach on the rights of our Tunisian brothers, either on land or in the sea,' Qadhafi said.

The International Court had now found that Libya was within its rights in prospecting for oil and gas where it did. So it was evident, Qadhafi told viewers,

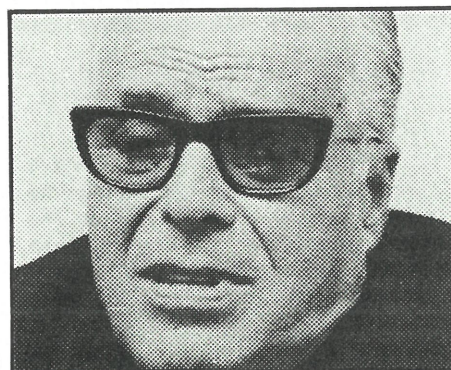
A NEW era in relations between the Libyan Jamahiriya and its western neighbour opened at the end of February, when Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi was warmly welcomed by the government and people of Tunisia. The two countries are now pledged to work for unity, starting with economic integration. Phil Kelly looks at a dramatic development with deep significance for the future of Africa and the Arab homeland.

that 'this was premeditated political action designed to sabotage relations' between Libya and Tunisia. But now, he went on. 'I believe that Tunisian officials are different from those during Nour's premiership, and that they are trustworthy, and will implement President Bourgiba's directions' on economic integration.

'Tunisia's interests are directly related to unity and economic integration with Libya, by completely abolishing all differences and superficial borders between the two countries,' Qadhafi declared. 'Libya is a rich country with a small population and has no great needs but the need for Arab unity to confront enemies.' This unity would directly benefit the Tunisian people, he explained.

This was because 'Unity is meaningless without economic content. Unity built on a material base strengthens Arab citizens because it puts an end to poverty and backwardness.'

'Without this, "unity" is just a demagogic call,' the Libyan leader insisted. The United States was sabotaging the Tunisian olive oil industry by lowering the price of oil below the cost to Tunisian farmers of producing it. In this way, the US wanted to dominate raw materials, and thus made



Tunisia's President Bourguiba

other countries, like Libya, dependent on the US.

'America is the true enemy of the Arabs,' Qadhafi said. It had drawn up a military strategy aimed at world wide hegemony, confrontation with the Warsaw pact, maintaining Israeli superiority, and subduing the Arab homeland. Libya had tried co-operation with the US and Britain for 20 years, and had got nothing. 'What we have built in the ten years after the Revolution is equal to all other previous achievements put together,' he continued.

America had taken Libya's oil and controlled its lands by military bases. It had sown enmity between Libya and other Arab states. If the Soviet Union followed the same path as the US, it would also become an imperialist power, he said. 'But I do not think that the Soviet Union will make such a mistake and forfeit the cause of peace and friendship with other peoples. Anyone who tried to equate America with Russia, or to say that co-operation with the US has any benefits, is belittling the ordinary citizen's political awareness,' he added.

He called on Tunisian youth to form revolutionary committees, which would not seek to take power, but which would encourage the masses to take the power into their own hands. Such committees should work openly and should not be forced underground. 'Everything should be democratic and clear from the beginning,' Brother Qadhafi declared.

Concluding his television appearance, the Libyan leader said that the moves towards unity would be warmly welcomed by the 60,000 Tunisian workers in the Jamahiriya. And, he concluded, 'I trust that similar steps will take place with Algeria, Morocco and with other Arab countries.'

Agreement

Following the historic visit, an agreement aimed at eliminating all economic barriers between Libya and Tunisia was signed in Tunis. The Libyan Secretary for Liaison for Foreign Affairs, Dr Ali Abdul Salam Treiki, signed on behalf of the Jamahiriya, and the Tunisian Foreign Minister External Affairs Minister, Mr Al Baji Kayed Al Sabi, signed on his country's behalf.

A joint supreme committee will meet every six months, or as often as required, alternately in Tripoli and Tunis. It will be headed by the Secretary General of the General People's Committee, Libya's equivalent of Prime Minister, and by Tunisian Premier Mohammed Mzali. Its membership will be the Tunisian Cabinet and Libya's General People's Committee. The committee will examine practical steps towards unity, including joint projects, trade exchanges, educational integration, and joint meetings between trade union and professional organisations in the two countries.

IN RECENT years the United States has been involved in a series of moves to draw the governments of Tunisia and Morocco into a close military alliance with Washington. Since the election of the Reagan administration, with its high-profile schemes to impose military and political dominance in the Arab homeland, plans to sell military equipment to these two Arab states have escalated with the clear US intention of involving both countries in an offensive which might include armed intervention against the Libyan Jamahiriya.

However, although both Arab states have been courted in the process of a single military and political objective, the role of each and Washington's objectives differ, as does the level of success for the Americans.

Aware that Libya remains a target of American intrigues in the region, and the role which Washington would like Tunisia and Morocco to play, the authorities in Tripoli have engaged in a series of political initiatives which look set to sweep the Americans off target.

The most recent initiative has been that involving the two visits to Tunisia by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi. On his second visit in late February, Qadhafi appears to be setting relations with Tunisia back on course after several years of strained relations. Last year, American hopes that the Organisation of African Unity summit in Nairobi would censure the Jamahiriya for its peacekeeping role in Chad backfired. The situation for the OAU was defused by a behind-the-scenes agreement by Morocco that Rabat would accept a referendum on the future of the Western Sahara, which Morocco annexed when the Spanish withdrew in 1975. The apparent shift in Rabat's stance also coincided with Morocco dropping its criticism of Libya's role in Chad.

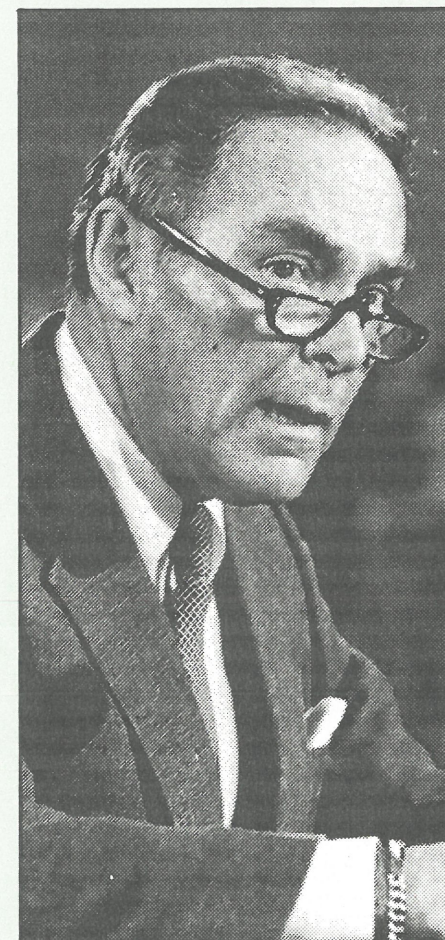
In part the shift in Morocco's position was the result of continuing military defeats at the hands of the Polisario forces, coupled with the serious economic strains of maintaining forces in the Western Sahara. Moreover, Polisario's position was strengthened and Rabat's weakened by the recognition of Polisario by a majority of OAU states.

An early resolution of the Western Sahara dispute was, however, set back by the election in the US of the Reagan administration. The result was to boost arms sales to Morocco, prolong the Saharan war, and consequently draw Rabat into a closer alliance with the Americans. The events which followed, a growing economic crisis in Morocco and continuing failure to bring the Saharan war to a conclusion even by military means having privately abandoned the referendum proposal, merely compounded Rabat's dependence on closer ties with Washington for its survival.

RDF in Morocco

Attention focused once again on Morocco's military links with the US in February

American schemes advance with Moroccan approval



Scheming: General Haig

AS PART of the American scheme to confront progressive and democratic forces in the region, Washington has been involved in a little publicised campaign to draw Morocco and Tunisia into a closer military alliance with the United States. Washington's targets are Polisario and the Libyan Jamahiriya. Louis Eaks examines the details and assesses the current situation.

when Secretary of State General Haig visited the Arab kingdom for talks with King Hussein. It was subsequently announced that a joint military commission had been established, similar to those with Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt.

Commenting on General Haig's visit to Morocco, the radical New York weekly

Guardian observed on 24th February that the Secretary of State had 'tapped Morocco as a key nesting ground for the Rapid Deployment force (RDF)'.

The *Guardian* added, 'The payoff to Hassan was twofold: Washington will bolster decisively Morocco's war effort in the occupied Western Sahara; and will apparently extend US protection to the regime in the increasingly likely event of a significant internal upheaval. Washington is thus placing Morocco under the umbrella of the "Reagan doctrine", the principle that the US will intervene against serious domestic threats to its most valued Mideast allies.'

On the level of military aid to Morocco, informed sources expect the level to rise sharply from the current \$30 million to \$100 million or more in the next fiscal year, according to the *New York Times* on 13th February. America's essential role on the Saharan war is underlined by the scale of military supplies to Morocco last year, when the US supplied six Bronco OV10 reconnaissance planes and 20 Northrop F5E fighter bombers. Morocco is now seeking 108 American M60 battle tanks, and devices to protect its aircraft from Polisario missile attacks, which downed three Moroccan planes last October.

With the US now firmly involved in the Saharan War, Morocco in return is required to become equally involved with the Rapid Deployment Force. Under the guise of 'facilities' the US is seeking use of military bases in Morocco such as the former US base at Benguerir near Marrakesh, one of three bases evacuated by the Americans in 1963.

A report in *8 Days* magazine on 27th February cited western diplomats as saying that the 'facilities' sought by Haig 'implied a more or less permanent American military presence which would keep the facilities primed for the "over the horizon" force that has to be set up precisely because no Arab country is willing to grant the US a permanent military base on its territory'.

CIA centre

General Haig's visit to Morocco put the Administration's seal on what Claudia Wright described in the *New Statesman* on 31st December as 'an important new liaison' between the two countries. In return for support in the Saharan war, Washington looked to Rabat for co-operation in providing facilities for the CIA to use Morocco as a 'base for covert operations in the Maghreb and Western Africa,' she said.

The new alliance has been patched together during a series of visits to Morocco during 1981 of senior US officials and envoys. In March, October and

►December last year, General Vernon Walters, Deputy Director of the CIA from 1972 to 1976 and currently a roving ambassador for the State Department, visited Rabat. Also there during March was Lannon Walker, then acting Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. Meanwhile, two visits by Francis West, Assistant Secretary of Defence in charge of international security and military sales, included a November delegation of 23 military advisers and experts. During the summer Rabat received Frank Carlucci, Deputy Secretary of Defence, followed shortly after by a secret visit by Vice Admiral Bobby Inman, the current deputy director of the CIA. In December last Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger arrived in Rabat, followed on 19th December by Senator Charles Percy, Republican Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

According to the *New Statesman* report, 'There is little doubt that the increased CIA activity in Morocco is aimed at Qadhafi, the other major target being Angola.' In fact the current propaganda campaign directed against the Libyan Jamahiriya by Washington, in which Muammer Qadhafi is cast in the role of international subversive, is being used by the Reagan administration as a cover for military aid to the pro-US terrorist UNITA forces led by Jonas Savimbi. Savimbi met last March in Morocco with General Walters, Lannon Walker and two CIA men from Rabat.

Claudia Wright observes, 'The new arms flow to Morocco for the Sahara enables the Reagan administration to evade Congressional prohibitions still in force against covert aid to UNITA. Arms intended for Savimbi are passed to Morocco legally and transferred while Washington looks the other way. As long as the White House can convince doubters in Congress that "Soviet surrogates" such as the Libyans are behind the Polisario, the Saharan conflict will remain a useful front for covert operations of this kind.'

Arms for Tunisia

Meanwhile, the provocative image of the Libyan Jamahiriya created by the Reagan administration's 'disinformation' campaign, has been vigorously exploited in a bid to draw Tunisia into the American alliance in the Maghreb. As with Morocco, the actual supplier of weapons to a country is of relatively little importance compared with the motives for their supply and the obligations imposed on the recipient country.

On 30th October 1981, Claudia Wright noted in the *New Statesman*, that there had been a 'ten fold leap' in the sales of US military equipment to Tunisia during the last year (see box). She added, 'No mention of this had appeared in the press, nor has the Reagan administration wittingly revealed a single word of truth about the negotiations they have had with the Tunisian government.'

Throughout 1981 the Americans appear

US arms sales to Tunisia

ARMED WITH American fabricated reports of threats to Tunisia's security and the government's survival, the Washington administration has sought to involve Tunis in acquiring massive supplies of US arms over the past year.

Under the Carter administration Tunisia's military credits were lifted to a relatively modest \$50 million, but even this level of credit was significantly higher than the \$15 million proposed by the White House and the \$30 million voted by the Senate following accusations that Libya had been involved in the 1980 Tunisian uprising at Gafsa (despite reports of involvement by Libya at the time, no evidence to support the claim ever materialised as is generally the case with US inspired charges against the Jamahiriya).

The Gafsa incident provided Washington with the pretext to push the Tunisian authorities to examine their inadequate inventories with which to cope with both the perceived internal and external security threats. Internal insurgency required improved communications, transportation, and highly mobile light arms. Foreign threats called for credible air defence systems, including interceptors, early warning radar and anti-aircraft missiles, along with tanks and heavy artillery. The difference in cost would amount to several billion dollars of sales for US arms manufacturers, and perhaps a not insubstantial commission to high-ranking officials within the Tunisian government.

It might have served, therefore, the

interests of certain people in Tunisia to raise the temperature and encourage Washington to up its level of credits. This would explain a surprise charge in November 1980 of a Libyan incursion across the border and claims of a military build-up of Libyan forces in the area. Although the incident faded to obscurity as fast as it appeared, and came at a time when Libya was preoccupied with the 100,000 Egyptian troops massed along the Jamahiriya's eastern border, and were therefore incapable of launching an attack on Tunisia even if the desire had existed, it did heighten Washington's perception of Tunisia's needs. Carter upped credits to \$50 million, and by July 1981 the Reagan administration increased military credits to \$95 million for 1982, with Pentagon sources anticipating sales to Tunisia this year in the region of \$125 million. This compares with a yearly average of \$18.8 million between 1978-81. And Tunisian purchases of US equipment and arms are projected in Washington to a level of \$200 million by 1983. To meet cost of this armaments shopping list, US funds for rural development and economic assistance in Tunisia were wholly eliminated.

As a consequence of Reagan's campaign against the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi, the United States has reaped a rich harvest in arms sales to Tunisia. If projections are correct, the US will have secured arms sales to Tunisia between 1981 and 1985 of some \$775 million, and the country will be heavily in debt to the United States.

to have successfully secured the co-operation of Tunisians within the government who were hostile to closer co-operation between Tunisia and the Libyan Jamahiriya. During his late February visit to Tunisia for talks with President Bourguiba, Muammer Qadhafi referred specifically to the former Tunisian premier Hadi Nour, who the Libyan leader accused of 'poisoning and sabotaging relations between the Tunisian and Libyan people'.

Certainly the sacking of Nour last year by President Bouguiba appears to have opened the way for a normalisation of relations between the two neighbouring states. In turn this must have been seen in Washington as a serious set-back for US plans to involve Tunisia in Washington's schemes against the Libyan Jamahiriya.

According to Claudia Wright, the American plan was thus: 'If Tunisia can be tied in with the US, the Americans can establish an extensive military mission in the country. Their facilities can then be linked to the sixth fleet in the Mediterranean, to US coastal surveillance, to monitoring Libyan airspace, and to what-

ever new intelligence operations are worked out for the Middle East.'

The Libyan leader's initiative to forge a new era in relations between the Tripoli and Tunis governments appears to have been well received by President Bourguiba. Coupled with his earlier initiative in Algeria, Muammer Qadhafi must have set the alarm bells ringing in Washington. Without resorting to the crude expression of military intimidation which has come to characterise America's stance towards Libya and the Arab homeland, through negotiation and diplomacy Qadhafi has achieved his objectives in easing tensions in the region and bringing the Arab states of the Maghreb into relative unison.

Yet if Claudia Wright is correct in her assertion last October that 'Washington is preoccupied with preventing any rapprochement between Tunisia and Libya by keeping tensions between the two countries high,' America's apparent successes in Morocco can only make it a matter of time before Washington strikes back, in one form or another, to undermine the new relationship between Tripoli and Tunis.

America has it both ways

SECRETARY OF State Alexander Haig and Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger have both spent a great deal of the past two months in the Arab homeland. Arms deals and co-operation agreements have abounded. But America's vital support for Israel is unchanged. Phil Kelly examines US strategy towards the Arabs

'THERE IS no US Mideast policy. This is a good thing, because if there were, it would be the wrong one,' the former US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia, Robert G Neumann, told a London seminar towards the end of last year. The remark is witty, quotable, and totally misleading — probably deliberately so. Neumann, though sacked as Ambassador by Haig after a short tenure of office in 1981 for being too openly pro-Saudi, is still an influential figure in the Republican Party and no doubt anxious for office again.

The Americans would like the Arabs to think that US policy in the Middle East, if not now pro-Arab, is capable of being changed to be so. Fostering that hope is intended to prevent particularly those Arabs close to Washington from basing their actions on the demonstrable fact of America's crucial role in maintaining the Zionist state's very existence. Their policies instead are pinned on the hope of change.

Another former Ambassador in Jeddah, James Akins, told the seminar that the United States was in a very good position in the Middle East. Despite its unwavering support for Israel, he said, the US had faced no serious challenges from the Arabs. In its diplomacy in the Middle East, America had a very free hand. Domestic political considerations dictated support for Israel, said Akins; there was a potential conflict between this and the US need for Arab oil, and for Arab economic co-operation in managing and directing the financial flows resulting from oil sales, the ex-diplomat said. But there is no actual conflict, he pointed out, for the simple reason that the major Arab oil producing states had not chosen to have



such a conflict. The West was getting all it wanted from the Arabs without having to pay any political price.

There is much concern in the western media, particularly in the United States, along the lines of Ambassador Neumann's insistence that the US does not have a policy. Considering the matter in a recent editorial, the *New York Times* suggested that one of three possibilities was the case. First, perhaps the United States did have a policy — one of putting its interests in Arab resources above the commitment to Israel, and therefore of preparing Israel and US public opinion for a shift which would see real US pressure for Palestinian involvement in talks, and real concessions over the future of the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

The *Times* rejected this because, it claimed, this policy would not work — pressure on Israel would simply result in

mounting intransigence. More rationally, it can be rejected for reasons put forward by Ambassador Akins — the US has no reason or need to put such pressure on. Even if, after the return of the Sinai, Egypt moves closer to the Arab countries again, it will be a closeness to the traditional Arab regimes. And as the perspicacious ex-diplomat indicated, these have a cosy relationship with the Americans anyway. Camp David would be over — but so what? The US would still have its close ties with Israel and the Arabs.

'Another explanation is: No policy, period — Reagan has no policy to reconcile his commitment to Israel with his interest in Gulf oil and Arab money. So Haig manoeuvres to avoid war, Weinberger goes hell bent for military bases and sales, and the president cleans up the political fall out,' suggested the *Times*. This is certainly getting warmer. ►

► This 'no policy' option closely resembles a policy — one of inaction in a situation where as far as the US is concerned, no action is necessary. Reconciliation between oil supplies and backing Israel would only be necessary if there was a conflict, which there isn't at present.

The third possibility which the *Times* entertained was that the Reagan administration 'believes its own propaganda about a "strategic consensus"'. This said the paper was based on the expectation that 'Israel and moderate Arabs live in such terror of Soviet aggression or subversion that they will soon abandon their enmity and take America as their joint protector' — but, the *Times* claimed, 'the Arabs and Israelis scoff at the idea; they seek help mainly against each other.' Certainly, on their recent tours of the Gulf and other 'moderate' Arab states, Haig and Weinberger were told of the fears of the Arab regimes about Israeli expansionism.

But this by no means rules out a concern by both the Israelis and the Arab reactionaries about the potential threat from the Arab people — 'subversion', as the Americans call it. At present, this is not a shared concern. The fear of popular revolution is harboured separately by Zionists and Arab reactionaries. The Arab reactionaries genuinely fear Zionist aggression, with good reason. The Israelis know that they have nothing to fear from the traditional regimes, but it suits them to pretend apprehension.

US policy was not based on a strategic consensus which was already in existence. The Reagan administration simply believed that it could, by careful diplomacy, minimise — though probably never remove — the divisions between the Zionists and the Arab reactionaries by playing on their fears of the Arab masses, the progressive Arabs and the USSR.

The flaw in this was the insistence on blaming the threat to the Arab Gulf states on the Soviet Union. The Israelis, whether they believed it or not, are happy to accept this. Israeli propaganda has always stressed the relationship between the PLO, the Libyan Jamahiriya, Syria, and other progressive Arab states and the Soviet Union, and has always portrayed this as one of clients to patron. But in the Arab world, such an approach was far too simplistic. Even the most reactionary Arabs are aware of the genuine national roots of progressive movements and governments.

To suggest that the PLO is a tool of the Soviet Union contradicts the experience of every Arab, whatever their political views. But the exercise of raising the Soviet Union as the demon which will frighten all true believers into the comforting protection of the US is not new. Anti-Sovietism has been the core of US foreign policy since 1945. It has been the public justification for US world-wide intervention since the infamous John Foster Dulles became the first post-war Republican Secretary of State in 1953.

This position has been in large measure a cover for the real purpose of American intervention — the protection of access to raw materials and markets essential for US capitalism. One problem which American policy makers face is that the existence of a 'Soviet threat' was not nearly so obvious in the 1970s as it had been in the 1950s and 60s when the super-powers' forces faced each other in Europe. The confrontation in Berlin became a symbol for world-wide confrontation.

In part, the US solution has been to ignore this problem, and simply to repeat, in the face of mounting evidence to the contrary, that the USSR was the initiator of all challenges to the West. In the Arab homeland, that constant repetition has convinced very few, and on his most recent visit to the region, it appeared that Defence Secretary Weinberger had finally changed the worn and scratchy recording.

'The Reagan administration is redirecting its military efforts in the Middle East in the belief that internal subversion is more of a threat to friendly countries, and their oil, than Soviet attack, US officials say. This policy shift underpinned a 10-day visit by Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger to Saudi Arabia, Oman and Jordan,' the *International Herald Tribune* reported on 15th February.

The paper said that Weinberger 'talked about what must be done to keep moderate governments in the Gulf region from being toppled by Muslim extremists.' While the IHT report simply added economic aid to military, such 'assistance' certainly includes putting the US experience of covert political action at the disposal of pro-western regimes.

Haig v Weinberger

The US media has made a great deal of the differences between Haig and Weinberger. The former is portrayed as less of a hawk, generally, than the Defence Secretary. Haig, it is said, though approving of the tougher measures against the Soviet Union, sees these as designed to force a long term re-negotiation and resettlement of the basic strategic understanding between the two super powers which has been one aspect of international politics since 1945 and the Yalta agreement. This aspect was to the fore during Kissinger's tenure of office as Secretary of State, when it was conveniently labelled 'detente'.

Weinberger, on the other hand, is seen as the man who basically doubts the legitimacy of any Soviet role in international affairs; rather than aiming for an agreed reduction in the Soviet profile, he sees matters as a process; the aim is a reduction in Soviet potential to zero, without any nonsense about power-sharing. This is the other role of US policies, one which has been the vision of the American right since the 1917 Revolution. The crucial personal difference between the two men is that Weinberger, a former

California cabinet member under Reagan, has the President's ear. Haig does not.

Across these differences lie another set of conflicts. Like all cabinet members in bureaucracies, Weinberger and Haig must speak for their constituencies. Any Defence Minister is first and foremost the representative of the armed forces in national affairs. But in the US the Secretary for Defence must also represent the interests of the arms industry. In travelling the Arab homeland offering large weapons sales to 'moderate' Arabs, Caspar Weinberger is doing his bit for the military's best friends in the US. Haig, as Secretary of State, has less of an internal constituency to worry about. On the other hand, Weinberger is aware that the massive US military build-up might not solve the political problems. He opposes the commitment of US ground troops to El Salvador, because the venture might fail and undermine his longterm aim of bolstering the prestige — and the wealth — of his friends in the military industrial conflict.

On the Middle East, there is a mistaken conception in many circles, that Weinberger, because of his former business links with the Arab homeland, and in particular with Bechtel, the US corporation with large contracts in Saudi Arabia, is 'less Zionist' than Haig. Weinberger himself denies this. 'We are not going to permit the security of the State of Israel and its capacity for self-defence to be eroded in any way,' he told a Jewish businessmen's gathering in New York last November.

What seems to have happened is that Weinberger has been more prepared than Haig to criticise Israel. The recent remarks by the Secretary of State 'leaked' from his meetings with colleagues — when he called Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington 'a duplicitous bastard' — contained no criticism of Beigin or Israel. In the political climate in the United States, anyone who does not support every detail of the Israeli government's policies is immediately denounced by the well orchestrated Zionist lobby as 'pro-Arab'. Unfortunately, some Arabs then believe this.

On his most recent visit to the Middle East, Weinberger offered Hawk missiles to Jordan; persuaded the Saudis to agree to a joint military committee with the Americans; and offered Oman help against its neighbour, South Yemen. In Morocco, Haig offered weapons and political backing to King Hassan in return for bases. The two men 'were simultaneously pursuing the same objective: laying the diplomatic groundwork to secure a chain of facilities that the American Rapid Deployment Force might some day use to hopscotch its way to the Middle East,' *Time* magazine explained succinctly on 1st March.

The difference is that the US now admits that the strategic consensus is against the Arab radicals. Israel will back it because it is against the Arabs; and the Arab reactionaries will back it because they fear their own people.



Zionist leader Menachim Beigin votes for annexation of Syria's Golan Heights, but where is the Arab response, Qadhafi asks?

IN A review of the state of the Arab nation, the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi has renewed his call for the Arab people to work for the establishment of democracy throughout the Arab homeland, and warned that feudal regimes which imitate the policies of the Shah of Iran, in acting as proxy rulers for the United States, will suffer the same fate.

The main target of the Libyan leader's criticism was Saudi Arabia, whose rulers he accused of 'openly proclaiming their alliance with Israel and the United States'. Qadhafi pointed out that Saudi policies protected Israel and the United States, while they in turn worked to undermine Arab independence, and showed total contempt for Arab rights. The Saudi oil policy, based on high production and low prices, merely served American and Zionist interests; it strengthened the US economy and was designed, with Washington's connivance, to strike at the economies of other Arab oil producers whose development programmes did not allow the massive surpluses of the Saudis. In turn these Saudi surpluses were invested in American banks, and used to fund US military and economic aid to the Zionist state created on occupied Arab land in Palestine.

In the wake of the Zionist attacks last year on Baghdad and Beirut, the Libyan people had placed Arab unity as a priority over any ideological differences which might exist. The Jamahiriya had called for unity to confront the American and Zionist threat which menaced the Arab nation. Instead, Saudi Arabia had plotted against the Arab nation. Preparation to defend and liberate Arab lands had been ignored, while the Saudi rulers formulated

Saudi policies linked to protecting Israel, says Qadhafi

THE ARAB nation is being betrayed by Saudi Arabia's rulers, whose policies on oil pricing and production levels, together with its stance on the Palestine question, undermine Arab rights in favour of an alliance with the United States and Israel. This was the message contained in two major speeches in early March by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi.

the Fahd Plan, which called for Arab recognition and acceptance of the Zionist settler state created in occupied Palestine.

The Libyan leader was undoubtedly reflecting the views of many less outspoken and less forthright Arab leaders

who have watched in recent weeks as Saudi oil policies have undermined many countries' development plans. Even Britain has been forced to cut oil prices as a consequence of Saudi over-production, presenting further problems for Britain's beleaguered economy.

Muammer Qadhafi's comments came during two important speeches given by the Libyan leader in early March. The first was on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Declaration of People's Authority, the establishment of the Libyan Jamahiriya which heralded the country's system of direct people's democracy. The second major speech came the following day, when members of the General People's Congress from basic congresses throughout the country convened in Tripoli, the capital, to decide on measures aimed at streamlining the Libyan administration (see *Panorama News Review*).

The two occasions were an opportune time for Qadhafi to renew his call for the Arab people to sweep feudal regimes aside in the march towards democracy in the Arab homeland. The Arab nation, he said, faced a provocation from Arab reactionaries, 'sheltered by the American umbrella and the forward march of Israel'. Nothing less than 'total backing' could be given to progressive Arab forces who were opposing the American armies advancing across the Arab homeland, he said, in reference to the growing US presence in Sinai, Oman, Sudan and Saudi Arabia.

Saudis back Zionists

The Libyan leader said that the right wing Arab regimes had revealed their real nature and their 'complete alignment with the US and Israel in defiance of the Arab nation'.

'Saudi Arabia has decided to deprive the Libyan people of the source of their wealth, oil,' he said. 'Without any justification' Saudi Arabia 'had flooded the international market with oil, sold its oil at the lowest prices, and thereby openly proclaimed its alliance with Israel and the US against the Libyan people and others whose sustenance depends on oil. They are now prevented from selling their oil and are faced with an economic embargo.'

America's aim was to subjugate the Libyan people to the Arab reactionaries, said Colonel Qadhafi. A principle aim of the oil glut — which had been created by the Saudis at the request of the United States — was to prevent the Libyans and other progressive Arabs from arming the Palestinians to defend themselves against Israel and to carry on legitimate armed struggle for national liberation. But it also had other important implications; the Arabs would be 'stopped from developing their national economy and ridding themselves of backwardness,' he declared.

The United States was aware that the seeds of freedom had been planted in the Arab world. 'True freedom depends on the authority of the masses, real socialism, justice and equality,' he insisted. The Americans feared this, but equally they

► feared the consolidation of the gains which Libyans had made; industrialisation, the reclamation of the desert, the leading role of the Jamahiriya in the Arab world, and the creation of an armed people.

'The US and its stooges, Israel and Arab reaction, are aware that Libya will pose a danger to imperialist interests, through their emancipation of the Arabs and the assertion of their humanity on Libyan soil,' Qadhafi asserted. The example of the Libyan Jamahiriya would spread throughout the Arab homeland. If the Arabs were armed, and strong, and independent, it would mean the end of the Zionists, for the US, and for all imperialist interests in the area, which could only be realised at the expense of the Arab people.

The United States wanted to silence Libya, Qadhafi said, because it was the strongest Arab voice raised against their attempts to control the Arab nation. Washington knew that the achievements of the Libyan revolution were attracting support all over the Arab homeland. 'Artificial borders can no longer be used to create dissension and splits in the Arab world,' the Libyan leader averred.

Mobilisation

To face the threat, it was essential that all Libyans — 'more than a million of our citizens, of both sexes' — should be mobilised into a state of armed readiness to confront and counter 'America and its agents', the Libyan leader declared. This would be more than mere 'civil defence', he said; Libyans would fight to defend their homeland with tanks, artillery, guns, rockets, machine guns and aircraft. America would not succeed, even if it flew in equipment from its military bases in Europe or from 'its new Arab colonies such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Somalia and the donkey's stable, Oman.'

Because it could not defeat one million Libyans, Qadhafi warned, the US might resort to the use of nuclear weapons to destroy Libya. But Libyans would meet their fate 'with heads held high and our voices loud.'

The Libyan leader reminded his people that at the United Nations, Libya had many friends, while the United States was isolated. 'We are part of the world liberation movement. We are not alone. All those people struggling for freedom and emancipation are with us. All those who regard America as their principal enemy are with us. At the General Assembly, America, the great Satan, is in the dock. We sit alongside the small nations, who show their love for us, because we support the cause of freedom, and we fight for it, and because we have created the Jamahiriya, and founded the era of the masses.'

Arab masses

The masses of ordinary Arab people were behind Libya and its policies, said Qadhafi. But they were oppressed, unable to speak up and denied the freedom to express

their feelings and aspirations. 'They are with us from the Atlantic to the Gulf,' he declared. 'We are no longer able to hear the policies of the Saudi rulers who are the enemies of the Arab nation and of Islam.'

After the Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, Colonel Qadhafi reminded his listeners, Libya had announced that it would forget its differences with Iraq, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia to counter Israeli aggression. But these regimes had done nothing to counter Zionism, 'On the contrary; they are endeavouring to destroy the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese National Movement. At the same time, Saudi Arabia gives US aircraft manufacturers billions of dollars which they use to produce war planes for Israel which in turn they use to destroy the Iraqi reactor and to attack the whole Arab nation,' the Libyan leader pointed out.

All that Saudi Arabia had been able to offer was the Fahd plan. Instead of joint action against the enemy, the Saudis could only come up with a plan which called for the Arabs to discuss the recognition of Israel. There was, Qadhafi stressed, no difference between Prince Fahd and the late President Sadat. The 'joint Arab action for Palestine' had ended up as a truce.

The Libyan leader pointed out that his country had shown the utmost patience towards Saudi Arabia. A dialogue had been conducted, directly and through friendly Arab states. 'Now, we are fed up with the Saudis supporting America and financing Israel, and allying itself with the enemy of the Arab nation,' he insisted.

The Saudi royal family should pay heed to the fate of the Shah, Idris Sanussi, Lon Nol and Nguyen Cao Kay, and Haile Selassie. 'They fell like autumn leaves, and the rest will inevitably fall — all over the Arab world. The kingdoms, the modern museum pieces will inevitably fall. The people will have their victory,' he predicted.

The Libyan leader said he would not attend any Arab summit except to discuss the liberation of Palestine, and Arab unity on the basis of economic and military unity. Other meetings were 'rubbish', he said; those who attended were 'capitulationists'.

World empire

'America is not God Almighty, as it thinks, but the devil incarnate,' Qadhafi declared. We will never surrender one inch of Palestinian soil; the solution to the problem lies in Arab unity, in economics, politics and military affairs,' he added.

Libya could do without its oil if necessary, he said. An earlier generation of Libyans had resisted the Italian colonialists without oil. Libya could manage very well without the US companies which Reagan, in one of his fits of rage, had ordered out of Libya. 'In fact,' Colonel Qadhafi admitted, 'we were rather ashamed that we needed US companies in Libya. We are neither sad nor disturbed if they go.'

Reagan was now playing the role of a Nazi towards the Arabs, the Libyan leader said. The US, like the Nazis, harboured insane dreams of a world empire. 'Reagan should remember that the Fascist empires were ruined, and the people triumphed. The US President plays the role of a contemporary Mussolini; he is afflicted with arrogance and megalomania; he thinks America can enslave the world as Hitler did. We tell him: your empire will be defeated just as Nazism and Fascism were. The people will triumph.'

The Libyan revolutionary leader exhorted his people and all Arabs: 'March on. Our fight will go on until victory over Israel and the United States is achieved, and the banner of freedom is raised high; the banner of socialism will extend over Arab land from the Atlantic to the Gulf. Either we live free or we die as martyrs.'

Saudi bankruptcy

Returning to the same theme in his speech on the following day to the special session of the General People's Congress (see Panorama News Review), Colonel Qadhafi warned the Saudi rulers that their flooding of the international oil market would lead to their own downfall. 'The US is bleeding Saudi Arabia of its oil and stockpiling it itself,' he warned. Saudi oil, he pointed out, 'is in the hands of 5,000 princes. OPEC cannot control the whims of these 5,000 princes, who are selling their share of the oil to squander their revenues in night clubs, palaces, private planes and private businesses. But from time to time, a Saudi oil well runs dry — Saudi reserves will soon be depleted as a result of this bleeding operation,' he went on.

The Libyan leader warned that other oil producers were already alarmed. The Emir of Kuwait had contacted him, Brother Qadhafi revealed, to express his alarm that Kuwait's customers were turning to underpriced Saudi oil. He charged that the Gulf Co-operation Council was a Saudi device to impose its hegemony on Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and the UAE. 'In other words, it wants to dominate the entire peninsula.'

Colonel Qadhafi singled out Crown Prince Fahd and Prince Sultan as primarily responsible for Saudi Arabia's capitulation. King Khaled and Prince Abdullah, he said, were good men who were 'innocent of Fahd and Sultan's fraudulent ideas'.

The Libyan leader pointed out that he had attempted to organise a reconciliation both with the conservative Arabs and with the United States itself. But there was always a new American reason why they opposed the Jamahiriya. First it was Libya's role in Chad; Libya withdrew. Then it was the 'threat' to Libya's neighbours. Since the death of Sadat, tensions with Egypt had eased; relations with Tunisia were now excellent. But still the Americans persisted. So Libya had no other choice, not only to recognise the American threat to the Arab nation, but to challenge it also.

'WE ARE totally involved in, and committed to, Libya.' This is how Richard Halahan, Sales Manager for Africa of Coles Cranes Ltd, sums up his company's attitude towards the Jamahiriya. Perceived financial difficulties in trading with Libya, and the negative light in which the country is often cast by the western media, have caused some British firms to view the Jamahiriya with caution. Others, however, have proved much less negative, and are now playing significant roles in Libya's ambitious economic development programme.

Coles Cranes have been active in Libya for many years, and have built up their exports to the Jamahiriya to the point where last year their cranes and lifting equipment accounted for about 70 per cent of all such machinery imported by Libya. In 1981 the company shipped to Libya cranes and spare parts valued at £10-12 million, and the Jamahiriya is now Coles' largest export market.

Until the late 1970s Coles Cranes' main point of contact in Libya was Libyan Electronics, a private firm that distributed cranes and other construction and agricultural machinery in the country. As the socialist transformation of the Libyan economy gathered momentum, the activities of Libyan Electronics were taken over by the Jamahiriya's General Company for Farm Equipment and Agricultural Necessities (GENCO).

Since then, Coles Cranes and GENCO have co-operated closely in establishing service centres in Tripoli and Benghazi, and in setting up training programmes to enable Libyan mechanics to maintain Coles' equipment in the Jamahiriya. Coles Cranes now run training courses both in Libya and at their international training school in the north east English city of Sunderland, the site of one of the firm's major factories. At present, Coles have service managers at both the Tripoli and Benghazi depots, and also a team of eight engineers who train Libyan personnel on the spot. Such training is very much in line with the Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan, which stresses the key importance of Libyans acquiring the necessary skills to run their economy.

Some British firms have complained of payments delays when trading with Libya, and this was one of the topics discussed by the British trade delegation that visited Tripoli in late January (see *Jamahiriya Review*, March 1982). Since last summer, the Libyan Jamahiriya's oil revenues have declined. The world oil glut, stemming from the recession, and consequent demand cutbacks in the industrialised states, and from over-production by countries such as Saudi Arabia, has made it difficult for Libya to sell its oil at agreed OPEC prices. Inevitably, given the size of the Jamahiriya's investment programme, there have been short term cash flow problems, and some resulting payments bottlenecks. At the end of 1981, however, Libya cut its oil prices, and exports — and revenues — have picked up dramatically.

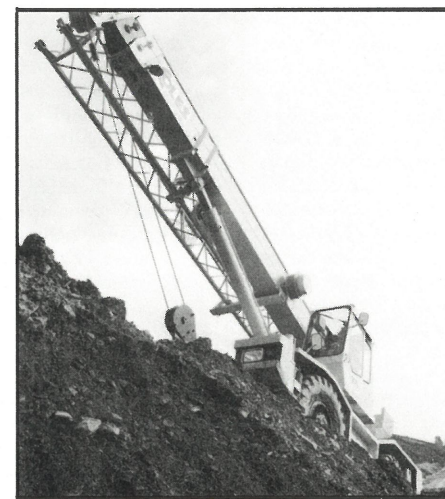


Equipment from Coles Cranes assists the Jamahiriya's development progress.

British firm 'totally committed to Libya'

MANY BRITISH firms have shunned Libya, despite the opportunities presented by its \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan. Others have been far more enterprising, and in this first in a series of special reports, Alan George examines the record of Coles Cranes, Europe's largest mobile crane manufacturers.

Coles Cranes have experienced some payments delays in recent months, but Richard Halahan stressed that this was not typical. Compared with many other countries, he said, the Libyans 'have been very good payers, with an excellent track record'. Mr Halahan is certain that Libya's increased oil output will bring a return to the smooth transactions of the past. He declared himself 'quite confident that within a short time it will all be resolved'. Coles' positive attitude is underlined by the fact that they have not interrupted shipments of cranes or spare parts to the Jamahiriya.



Many British companies involved in Libya cite delays over the issue of visas as a problem, and Coles Cranes is no exception. The unpredictable time it can take to secure visas is seen, however, as more of an irritant than as something that in any way seriously hampers their involvement in the Jamahiriya.

Coles Cranes see the reluctance of British contractors to bid for projects in the Jamahiriya as a deeper problem. Such contractors would naturally tend to place orders for construction equipment with British firms. When the Jamahiriya's Heavy Industry Secretary Omar Muntassir visited Britain last autumn, he stressed Libya's wish for greater involvement by UK contractors, and the British were quick to act on his call. The trade mission that recently visited Tripoli included representatives of some of Britain's largest contracting firms, and there are hopes that the coming months will see UK firms winning major orders.

Britain's Fairclough International is reportedly well placed to secure a \$279 million contract for the construction of new maintenance buildings at Tripoli International Airport, to include hangars and an engineering and administration centre. Richard Halahan disclosed that many British firms see the contract as a test of the Jamahiriya's resolve to strengthen links with British contractors: 'A lot of hopes hang on the Fairclough contract,' he said.

There is some evidence that the habitual misrepresentation of Libya in the western media has played a part in deterring some firms from exploring the opportunities presented by the country's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan. The experience of Coles Cranes, however, like that of all who have first hand knowledge of Libya, is that the media image is pernicious and misleading. 'My feeling is that the reality is very different from the impression in the media, and particularly US newspapers, and that Qadhafi and his responsible revolutionary authorities have done a great deal of good for the average, ordinary Libya,' declared Richard Halahan.

Court decides on maritime rights dispute

THE NEW rapprochement between the Libyan Jamahiriya and Tunisia has been marked by a settlement of their dispute about the boundaries between their offshore territorial waters. Four years ago, the two states disagreed about the position of the boundary. Tunisia objected that Libya had granted offshore exploration concessions to a French firm in what was, Tunis claimed, Tunisian waters.

The two states rapidly agreed to submit the disagreement to adjudication before the International Court at the Hague. Libya's action in following the general precepts of international law in the dispute was in marked contrast to the aggressive actions of the United States. Because the US disputes Libya's claim to the Gulf of Sirte as its 'historical waters', it sent in its naval forces and carrier-borne fighters shot down two patrolling Libyan jets on 19th August last year.

Libya, however, sought a peaceful resolution to its disputes. A similar disagreement with Malta is also before the International Court. The verdict in the Libya-Tunisia case came on 24th February. The Court produced a compromise solution, which is binding on and accepted by both sides. 'The line runs north-northeast from the common [land] border until it reaches a point almost level with the Tunisian port of Gabes. It then veers east-northeast. Under the rules of the Court, experts from Libya and Tunisia should now meet to work out in details the judgement's implications,' *Middle East Economic Digest* said on 26th February.

The Tunisian news agency TAP reported on 25th February that 'As regards oil prospection, the delimitation appointed by the Court by 10 votes to four confirms an actual situation. The research concessions granted by Libya to a French oil company remain on the Libyan side of the line drawn by the Court. The judgement of the Court is a final one.'

Aid for Nicaragua

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya and Nicaragua are to set up a joint agricultural company. An agreement to establish the company was signed in Tripoli in early February by Jaime Wheelock Roman, the central American country's Minister for Agricultural Develop-



Libya is fast expanding its health and welfare services which are provided free to all Libyan citizens. See report on hospitals below.

ment, and Muhammad Abu al Qasim az Zuwayy, the Jamahiriya's Justice Secretary.

The agreement is the latest sign of the close economic and political ties between Nicaragua and Libya. Last year Libya deposited \$100 million in the Nicaraguan Central Bank to help cover the country's balance of payments deficit.

Work resumes on major hospitals

WORK HAS resumed on the central hospitals in Tripoli and Benghazi, after a delay of six years. Designed in the late 1960s by the Swedish firm Uniconsult, the two hospitals will both have three 400-bed blocks. When work on the projects halted, only the civil works had been finalised, and the hospitals will both cost about \$135 million to complete.

Libya's General Building Company began work in February on a two-year contract to finish the Benghazi hospital. The Italian firm Compagnie Ellettrotecnica Italiana has won a subcontract for electrical work, and the Aster International company of Milan has been subcontracted for the mechanical work. Britain's James Cubitt & Partners has the construction supervision contract.

South Korea's Daewoo Corporation has been awarded a 30-month contract to complete the Tripoli central hospital, and work started at the end of Janu-

ary. There are reports that Cubitt will be appointed to supervise construction.

The Benghazi and Tripoli hospitals, each to have a staff of about 5,000, are key projects in Libya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan. The plan provides for an increase in the number of hospital beds in the Jamahiriya from 14,472 in 1980 to 23,765 by 1985. The ratio of beds to population will rise from 4.5:1,000 in 1980 to 6:1,000 by the middle of the decade. LD 560 million have been allocated for the development of health services during the plan period.

Contracts for Britain

THE SWINDON-based firm Erba Science has won a \$374,000 contract to supply a gas chromatography laboratory for the ethylene plant under construction at the Ras Lanouf petrochemicals complex. The order, placed by the Jamahiriya's Azzawiya Refinery Company, includes installation and staff training and final commissioning is due in summer.

In January 1980 the Italian firm Belleli Industrie Meccaniche won a \$60 million contract to build the 330,000 tonnes per year capacity ethylene plant, which is due to enter production in a few months' time. The plant will be supplied by a \$300 million oil refinery with a planned eventual capacity of 280,000 barrels per day. In 1980 Saipem, the contracting arm

of the Italian state energy agency, Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi, won a \$40 million contract for the first construction phase. Work started early last year, and is also nearing completion. The refinery and ethylene plant are the keys for a wide range of other petrochemicals plants at the Ras Lanouf complex.

Another order placed by the Libyan Jamahiriya with a British firm has just been completed. DRG Stationery of Hemel Hempstead made the final shipment of 42 container loads of business books valued at almost \$1.9 million. In 1980 the firm won a similar order, worth nearly \$1 million.

Firms invited to bid for new towns

COMPANIES HAVE been invited to prequalify for two major urban developments in Libya, one at Ras Lanouf on the coast, the other at Sarir, in the desert about 600 kilometres south of Benghazi.

At Ras Lanouf a new town is being built for workers at the petrochemicals complex under construction nearby. Designed by the Finnish firm Dovecon, the town will have about 40,000 residents by the year 2000. Contracts for the first two stages were awarded last year to a Turkish joint venture of the Enka and Kutlutas companies. The \$250 million first stage contract is for 1,129 family houses. The second stage contract, worth \$118 million, is for five blocks, each containing about 70 apartments, and for a motel, supermarket, primary school, kindergarten and infrastructure.

The new contract will cover the third, fourth and fifth stages of the town's development, which will be tendered as a single package. The third stage is for public buildings, including a school and a supermarket, and an industrial estate. The fourth stage entails the construction of 1,678 houses, designed for six-member families, and the final stage is for additional public buildings.

At Sarir, companies are being invited to prequalify for the first stage of a new town planned to have 20,000 residents by 1990, and a possible eventual town of 60,000. The town will act as the focus for agricultural and oil industry developments in the region. Vast underground water reserves in the area are already being tapped for a desert irrigation project, and there are plans for a \$7 billion pipeline to carry water to the coast for agricultural and domestic use.

The Sarir new town will be built in three stages, each

comprising a neighbourhood of about 1,400 two-storey houses, public buildings and infrastructure. Two Japanese firms, Yachio Engineering Company and Kisho Kurokawa Architect & Associates are in the final stages of preparing designs and tender documents.

Since the Al Fateh Revolution in 1969, Libya has seen a construction boom as the new authorities have pursued their wide-ranging programme to improve the Libyan people's standards of housing, education and health, and to establish the country's first major industrial centres. In February it was reported that the Libyan affiliate of a Channel Islands-registered firm, Mechanical & Civil Engineering Contractors, has a \$2.6 million Economy Secretariat contract to build two supermarkets. The firm also has a \$4.2 million contract from the Housing Secretariat for a school a clinic and an office building.

Spain boosts trade with Libya

SPANISH EXPORTS to the Libyan Jamahiriya in 1980 totalled \$360,190,000, more than double the figure for each of the three preceding years. Statistics just published by the Spanish Trade Ministry also show that Libya was Madrid's third largest Arab export market in 1980, after Saudi Arabia and Algeria.

Spanish imports from the Jamahiriya, mostly comprising oil, have been rising more steadily, reaching \$1.3 billion in 1980, almost twice the 1979 figure and about three times that of 1977, Libya was the third largest Arab exporter of goods to Spain in 1980, after Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

In 1980 Spain sold \$2.1 billion worth of goods to the Arab homeland, accounting for 10 per cent of all the country's exports. In the same year, Madrid imported goods worth \$8.2 billion from the Arab region, the equivalent of 24 per cent of all Spanish imports. In 1977 the Arab countries took only 8 per cent of Spain's exports, and supplied Madrid with only 18.4 per cent of its overall imports.

Australian co-operation in agriculture

THE WESTERN Australian Overseas Projects Authority (WAOPA) has submitted a proposal for an agricultural scheme in the Misrata-Zliten area, about 200 kilometres east of Tripoli. The project

reportedly entails the development over four years of about 50,000 hectares for grazing and cereals. WAOPA would be responsible for technical aspects of the scheme, and is looking for a private Western Australia firm to provide farm equipment and management as a sub-contractor.

Peter Booth, General Manager of WAOPA, was quoted by the Sydney *Daily Commercial News* as being confident that the proposal will be accepted: 'It would be the third project we have undertaken there, so we are a proven commodity as far as the Libyans are concerned.' The Government of Western Australia has been involved in a cereal-growing project since 1974, and in 1980 started a scheme to develop pastures in semi-arid parts of the Libyan Jamahiriya.

Newsweek magazine revealed in February that the Jamahiriya is negotiating to buy 700 camels from Australia for breeding and for meat.

Australia's trading links with Libya are growing fast, particularly in the agricultural sphere. In January it was announced that Connorshea & Company had sold 970 seed drills to the Jamahiriya, worth \$4.7 million. The sale was believed to be the largest single order for agricultural equipment ever placed in Australia by an Arab country.

Electricity capacity expands

WEST GERMANY'S Buckau-Walther Grevenbroich (BWG), part of the Friedrich Krupp conglomerate, has won a \$59 million turnkey contract to build a sea-water desalination plant for Adjabadiyeh municipality, 180 kilometres south of Benghazi, it was disclosed in late January. The plant will provide 30,000 cubic metres of drinking water per day.

The contract includes the supply of machinery, and all building and infrastructure work. BWG will manage the plant for four years after its commissioning, which is scheduled for summer 1983. Client is the Jamahiriya's Electricity Secretariat.

The plant will be powered by a 15 MW generating unit comprising two heavy oil or gas-fired steam boilers and two turbo-generators. Surplus power will be fed into the Jamahiriya's electricity grid. The three-phase desalination plant will use the multistage evaporation process. It will include facilities for raw water treatment and chlorine production, and a storage tank for 50,000 cubic metres of treated water.



Agricultural livestock: Many overseas countries are involved in the development of the Jamahiriya's agricultural sector. See item on Australian co-operation below.

BWG is already working on a \$6.7 million contract won in 1980 for two desalination plants at Marsa Brega. Commissioning is due in summer.

Belgium's Electobel Engineering International has been awarded an \$8.3 million, five-year consultancy contract for an extension to the Benghazi North power station. The extension, for which Electobel has already started preliminary studies, entails the installation of three turbines with a capacity of 120-150 MW each, and a 100,000 cubic metre per day multistage desalination plant.

The project also includes the installation of a computerised control centre, a 220 kV substation and interconnection with the existing electricity grid, the construction of seawater reservoirs and pumping stations, and of freshwater reservoirs and pumping stations for Benghazi and its region.

The Benghazi North power station was designed by Electobel in 1971 with a capacity of 30 MW and 24,000 cubic metres per day of desalinated water. In 1974 the Belgian firm was appointed consultant for a scheme to double the plant's power and desalination capacity, and in 1977 two 40 MW turbines were installed.

In February, final tests were under way on the Sousa power and desalination plant, north east of Benghazi. The plant, comprising three 20 MW gas turbines and three one million gallon per day distillers, was built by the Spanish firm Abengoa Montajes Electricos and Babcock & Wilcox Espanola, part of Britain's Babcock International. Consultant is Britain's Preece, Cardew & Rider. Negotiations are reportedly under way for the addition of a fourth gas turbine and two further distillers.

The 1981-85 development plan allocates LD 2 billion to the electricity sector. The aim is to increase installed generating capacity from 1,950 MW in 1980 to 3,970 MW in 1985, and to raise sea water desalination capacity to 754,000 cubic metres per day.

Communications links with Tunisia

FOLLOWING MUAMMER Qadhafi's January visit to Tunisia, the country's Minister of Transport and Communications visited Libya in the first week of February. An agreement between the two countries was signed in Tripoli on 1st February. It covers road and rail transport, postal services, shipping, and exchange of expertise and training.

Joint technical commissions will examine transport of freight, ports, shipping and land transport. It is intended to reactivate the Tunisian-Libyan shipping company, and to restart the project for construction of a railway link between the two countries and improve roads. The linking of the two countries' power grids was also discussed.

Tunisian Transport Minister Sadok Ben Jema reported to the Cabinet on his return that the number of commercial airline flights between Libya and Tunisia would be increased, bus services would be restored, and cross-frontier formalities for the transit of freight would be streamlined. Improved co-operation in the posts and telecommunications sector will include the reactivation of the underground cable linking the two countries.

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Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

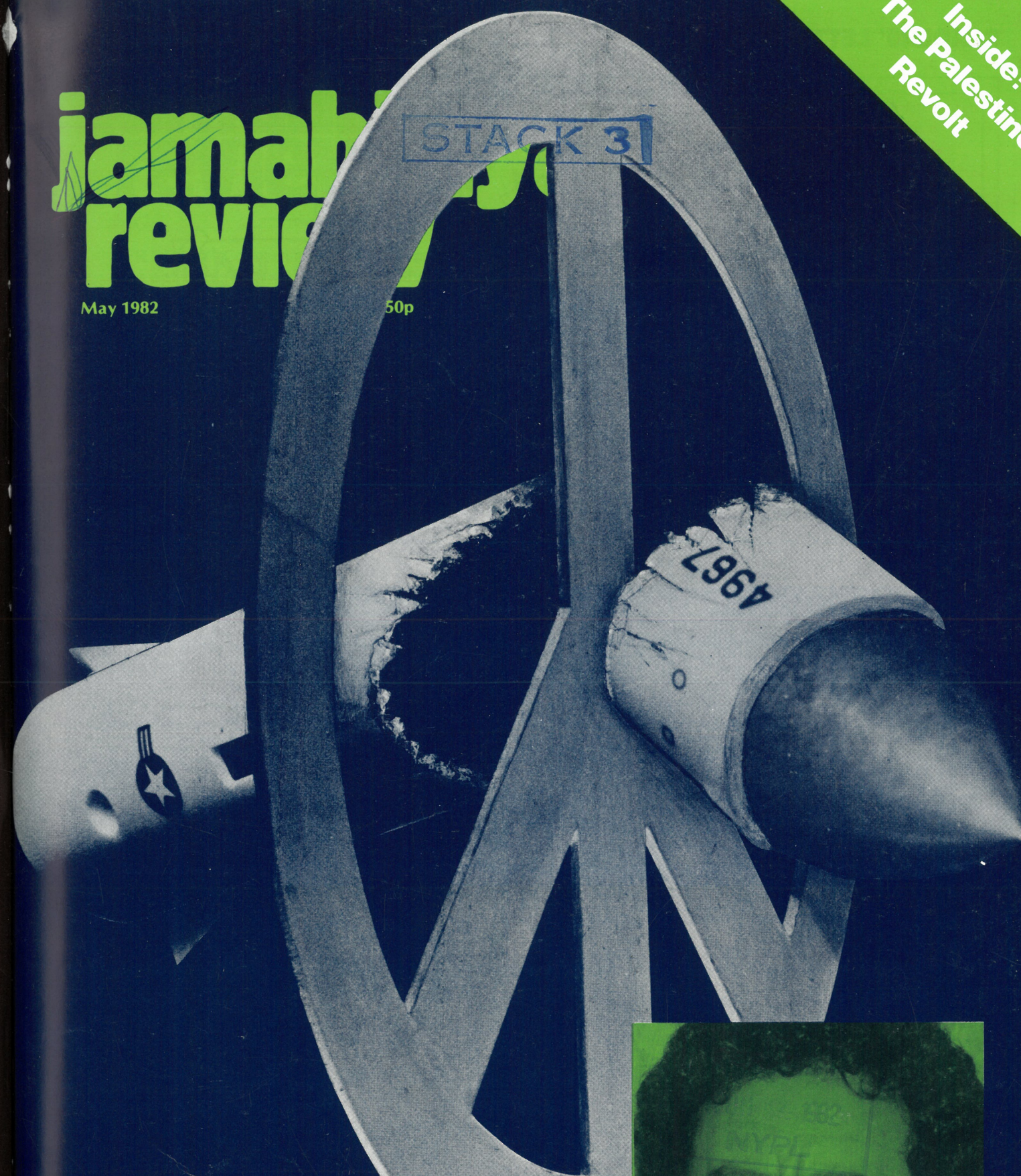
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The Palestine
Revolt



**'We support
the European
peace movement'
says Qadhafi**

